Pakistan
Annual Research
Journal

Vol. 50, 2014

STRUGGLE FOR ISLAMIC STATE AND SOCIETY: AN ANALYSIS OF SYED AHMAD SHAHEED'S JIHAD MOVEMENT

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Abstract

Syed Ahmad Shaheed's Jihad Movement is an important episode of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa's history. It played the role of fore-runner of Pakistan Movement in Indian subcontinent. This movement became the source of inspiration to Muslims of India in their struggle for preservation of Muslim culture, protection of their separate identity and establishment of an independent Islamic state in this region of the World. Those Muslims who later struggled for Pakistan saw Syed Ahmad and his followers as role-models fighting bravely against domination of non-Muslim rule and scarifying their lives for the cause of Islam. This study aims to critically examine objectives of Jihad Movement, its achievements and failures and role of people of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in it. Study will contribute significantly to understand problems and prospects of Islamization in this region.

Keywords: Islam, Jihad Movement, India, NWFP, Culture

Introduction

Jihad Movement of Syed Ahmad is inevitable and significant component of History of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Due to his sincerity and commitment with the cause of Islam, Syed Ahmad received great respect and love of the people of this region during his stay in this region of Pakistan and is still remembered with respect and reverence. Dr. Jehanzeb Khalil, who belongs to the area of struggle of Syed Ahmad, observes in his doctoral research on *Mujahideen* Movement: "the purpose behind his struggle was not worldly gain, fame and popularity, but the purpose was to submit to the will of Allah and to follow the Sunnah of the Prophet (PBUH).[1] Muslims of different tribes of the area; Arbabs, Yousafzais,

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Afridis, Khattaks, Mohmands and Khalils and people of Swat, Buner and Pakhli joined Syed Ahmad's struggle against Sikhs. In the battle of Shaidu about 100,000 Muslims of the present Khyber Pakhtunkhwa were fighting under Syed Ahmad's leadership. Many of them embraced martyrdom along with him in his last battle at Balakot.

Political, social, economic and religious decay of Muslim society in the Indian sub-continent that started in the eighteenth century widely spread through the early ninetieth century. Political supremacy of Muslims had practically come to an end and the military power completely incapacitated itself to protect life and property of the people. In a letter, Syed Ahmad portrays declining conditions of the Muslim community and decay of the Mughal Empire in these words: "Large part of the India has been captured by foreigners. They have adopted the policy of brutality and injustice. Government of Indian (Muslim) rulers has been vanished. No one has courage to challenge them. Everyone has started to consider them his master." [2] The simple monotheistic teachings of Islam had been polluted and ignored. Many innovations and un-Islamic traditions had been introduced and sanctified. Mughal rule in India had almost ceased to exist and political scene was dominated by British Empire, represented by East India Company, which controlled most of northern India, the Marhattas in southern and central India, Sikhs in north-west and hundreds of powerless rulers of princely states"[3]. Present Punjab, Kashmir and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa of Pakistan were being ruled by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who was considered a tyrannical autocrat. Sikh militia took the control of Lahore on 7 July 1799 and consequently Ranjit Singh was crowned on 12 April 1801. The Muslims heavily suffered under his oppressive rule. They were denied liberty and freedom to perform and practice their religion. After the capture of Lahore, Badshahi Mosque was severely damaged when Ranjit Sigh used its vast courtyard as stable for his army's horses and its 80 *Hujras* as quarters for his soldiers, while the Huzuri Bagh, the enclosed garden next to the Mosque was selected as Maharaja's official royal court of audience."[4] James Abbott observed:

> Any Mussalman praying in Public was liable to be slain on the spot by any armed Sikh…The calls to worship and attendance at the *Masjid* (mosque) were forbidden.. while the slaughter of a cow or a bullock was punished by death.[5]

Remaining India was under direct or indirect rule of British.

Early Life

Syed Ahmad was born on November 29, 1786 AD at Rai Bareli, a small town near famous cities of Lukhnow and Allahbad.[6] His father, Muhammad Irfan belonged to a respected family of Audh, "renowned for its holiness and religious learning. His great-great-grandfather, Syed Ilmullah, who lived in the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb, was a celebrated saint of his age. He also had the distinction of initiating others into the spiritual path of mystics."[7] Ancestral Khanqah of his family '*Takiyah-i-Ilmullah*' was a centre of guidance for the people of area and this is the place where Syed Ahmad was born. His grandfather was patron of this Khanqah.

Syed Ahmad possessed outstanding mental and physical capabilities. Formal system of religious education failed to attract him. Due to his nature and temperament famous scholar of that time "Shah Abdul Aziz concluded that Syed Ahmed would learn little through formal education and that his knowledge would come through spiritual means".[8] He could not show much interest in formal religious education but "on many occasions in latter life he surprised more learned men by his understanding and exposition of complicated problems.[9] He delivered effective and impressive sermons. It was the strength of his spiritual knowledge, character and commitment to the cause of Islam, on the basis of which he was widely respected by the people and distinguished scholars of that time like Shah Ismail, Mawlana Abdul Haiy and Maulana Mohammad Yousaf of Phulat accepted Syed Ahmad as their spiritual preceptor and entered into his discipleship.[10] Thousands of people including prominent intellectuals of that time expressed their confidence in his leadership through oath of allegiance on his hand.[11] According to analysis of a scholar of that time 40 thousand Hindus embraced Islam on his hand and three Million Muslims took oath and swore allegiance to him.[12] Wilayat Ali Azeemabadi observed that thousands of religious scholars and hundreds of Hafiz and Muftis took oath and swore allegiance on his hand.[13]

He was greatly impressed by the teachings and doctrines of Shah Waliullah regarding reformation and emancipation of Muslim society. Shah Wiliullah's ideas emphasizing establishment of Islamic state and sprit of *Jihad* had greatly influenced Syed Ahmad Shaheed and he sincerely played the role of executor of the philosophy of Islamic revivalism which had been propounded by Shah Waliullah and his son Shah Abdul Aziz. Due to his natural inclination towards Jihad, at the age of seventeen, he joined the army Nawab Amir Khan, the ruler of Tonk as Sawar. During his service Syed Ahmad learnt military techniques, strategy and discipline. This experience played important role to make him a great military commander in the years to come. Syed Ahmad believed on struggle against foreign domination of non-Muslim forces. So he left the army of Tonk when Nawab Amir Khan reconciled with British and refrained to fight for freedom after Tonk fell to the British.[14]

Preparation for *Jihad*

Syed Ahmad sincerely desired to see the restoration of supremacy of Islam. When he analyzed the causes of dominance of no-Muslim forces in India, he came to the conclusion that basis of the situation was the absence of the spirit of *Jihad* and the spirit of sacrifice for the cause of Islam. "The sub-continent had already been declared Dar-ul-Harb by Shah Abdul Aziz; therefore, it was religious obligation upon every Muslim to wage *Jihad* against the non-Muslim foreign forces".[15]

He was extremely dismayed to see the decline of the Muslims, but he realized that neither Mughal emperor of Delhi, nor Muslim rulers of Indian states were capable and enthusiastic of waging Jihad for establishment of an Islamic state. They were not prepared to scarify their luxurious lives and material benefits for it. He was convinced that he would have to take practical steps and play leading role in this respect. For this purpose he started a movement of mass contact to create spirit of *Jihad* among Muslims. He toured long way in the subcontinent, villages and towns, meeting all sections of people to urge them for Jihad. A letter of Syed Ahmad written to Sadozai ruler of Afghanistan, Shah Mehmood reflects Syed's sentiments. He wrote "To uphold Jihad and to crush rebellion, at any time and at any place, has been the cardinal commandment of God, particularly, at such a time when the criminal acts of non-believers have gone to such an extent that all the religious practices (of Islam) are being destroyed, political disturbances are created in the Islamic governments, and the seed of dissention is sown among the Muslims all over India, and adjoining countries. In this situation the apathy on the part of the Muslims is tantamount to a great sin. For this purpose the scholars of Islam have come out of their homes and are inviting Muslims for *Jihad*".[16]

In 1821 AD he left for Hajj along with his 753 companions.[17] Muslims of India had forgotten their responsibility to perform Hajj, which is obligatory for every Muslim who can afford it. In this perspective Syed Ahmad had decided to revive the performance of Hajj. After Hajj, he took the oath of Jihad from his companions at the place of Haqba in Mina, where Holy Prophet (PBUH) had taken the oath of allegiance from Ansars of Madina.[18] When he returned from Haj after three years, he devoted himself to two major tasks: reformation of Muslim society and "preparing his followers for *Hijrat* (migration) to trans-Indus tribal areas (North West Frontier) for *Jihad*."[19]

Selection of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa as Battle Field

Syed Ahmad had chosen the area of present Khyber Pakhtunkhwa as his center for waging *Jihad* because of the warrior nature of the Pashtoons and their bravery, love and devotion for Islam; qualities unparalleled anywhere in the sub continent. He was deeply concerned over decline of Muslims in India. In a letter to Shah Salaiman of Chitral he writes that "I am greatly grieved over this situation and these feelings have urged me for migration and *Jihad*".[20]

Although whole Muslim population was under the domination of non-Muslims; British in the East and Sikhs in the west, but condition of Muslims under the rule of Sikhs was worst. "Syed Ahmad used to say that when a Muslim state has been occupied by Non-Muslims, then *Jihad* becomes obligatory, both for the Islamic Ummah (Muslims)".[21]In a letter to Shahzada Kamran, the son of Sadozai ruler of Afghanistan Shah Mehmood, Syed wrote:

> Jihad has become inevitable as the non-believers have spread all over India. I said good-bye to my country and came to Khhurasan to invite

> and organize all the people for Jihad. I settled in the Yousafzai territory, and the Afridis, Khattaks, Mohmands and Khalils, also the people of Kashmir, Swat, Buner and Pakli have joined me. My mission is not to establish my government or gain power but to work for the rule of Islam. Moreover, I want to free the Islamic territories from the usurpers and when the areas are freed from the non-believers and hypocrites, I would hand them over to their rightful owners, provided they promise that they would not give up *Jihad* and would refrain from injustices, and un-Islamic practices. [22]

The letter reflects that he equally disliked the domination of British who had deprived the Muslims of their sovereignty in the sub-continent. But he selected frontier to begin his struggle. Syed Ahmad was disciple of Shah Abdul Aziz who had declared the subcontinent to be Dar-ul-harb because the region was dominated by British. Mentioning the reason to declare India as *Dar-ul-Harb*, Shah Abdul Aziz stated "the writ and decree of Imam-ul-Muslimeen is not established, on the contrary the injunctions of powerful Christians are followed without any impediments."[23] Syed's *Jihad* movement was based upon the ideas of Shah Abdul Aziz. These facts prove that Syed's ultimate aim was independence of whole India, not only the area under Sikhs. Syed's decision to quit the army of Tonk after the reconciliation between Nawab of Tonk and British also confirms his mindset regarding the domination of British. Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi writes when Nawab "Amir Khan made peace with the British, Saiyid Ahmad did not attach any importance to the need of earning a livelihood and returned to Delhi".[24]

Syed Ahmad was a great statesman and he was guided by reason and circumstances. He realized that it was not feasible to fight against the British forces that were better equipped and organized and were in firm control of most of northern India. On the other hand "though Ranjit Singh had built up an effective and large army, yet his government was not as securely established as was British rule in Indian territories."[25] Initiating Jihad in the region surrounded by British controlled area was not achievable task. In this perspective Syed Ahmad decided to start his *Jihad* against Sikhs. Due its strategic location, geography and demography, pukhtun area of present Khyber Puhktunkhwa could serve as most suitable base for military operation against the Sikhs. After beating Sikhs in Punjab and Kashmir, he could be in position to challenge the British. He writes in a letter:

> After it (Success in jihad against Sikhs) I, along with my companions, will leave for India-- to purify it from infidelity and hypocrisy. Because my real aim is Jihad in India, not to permanently live in Khurasan (Pukhtun areas under Sikhs and Afghanistan).[26]

In his book, *Hayat-i-Syed*, Mohammad Jafar Thanesari argued that "there was no intention of turning the movement against the British".[27] But Syed Ahmad's above mentioned letter refutes this argument. Activities of Syed Ahmad's followers after his martyrdom at Balakot confirm that Jihad movement was not confined against Sikhs. Syed's companions did not give up their struggle for freedom of Muslims and supremacy of Islam and continued to fight against Sikhs and later against the British when they captured the Sikh territories. Their resistance against British was so strong that "in 1863, the British had to send two European and six native regiments" to their "stronghold of Sithana in the north-western hills, which was bravely defended and the British force was held at bay."[28] In the words of an analyst "after the British conquest of the Punjab, the movement should have come to end, if the Sikhs alone were the target" but his companions "remained active against the British".[29] Thanesari was companion of Syed Ahmad. So in this context his view according to I.H. Qureshi "was obviously an afterthought put forward when the movement against the British had been ruthlessly crushed and motive seem to" save them "from British vindictiveness".[30]

He selected the area of present Khyber Pakhtunkhwa as his battlefield. Syed Ahmad was sure that as the Muslim government of Afghanistan was at his back and the people of whole area were enthusiastic Muslims having reputation of being good warriors, his call for Jihad would attract a large number of Muslims. Most people of the area "were Afghans by race and so the *Mujahideen* would find sanctuaries against the Sikhs and later the British, in the tribal territories and Kabul".[31]

Another cause of his selection of NWFP was large-scale resentment, frustration and unrest among Pukhtoons against brutalities of Sikh rulers. During his stay at Rampur, Syed came into contact with certain Afghans coming from Kabul. They narrated Sikh atrocities towards Muslims of North-Western India. On this occasion, he decided to wage Jihad against to liberate Muslims from the clutches of brutal rule of Sikhs.[32] There was extreme mistrust and hatred between Sikh rulers and Muslim population of the area.[33] Such circumstances of widespread discontent always provide fertile soil for uprising in any society.[34] Muslims of this area "had suffered and thus they could be easily organized to fight against their tormenters."[35]

Keeping in view whole struggle of Syed Ahmad Shaheed we can summarize that there were three major aims of his movement:

1. Establishment of Islamic state.
2. Reformation and purification of society from un-Islamic traditions and practices.
3. Restoration of *Jihad* and raise awareness of *Jihad* amongst Muslims of the region.
4. To free the Muslims of Punjab from the clutches of Sikhs.

He started his journey along with his 500-600 companions on 17th January 1826. It was not possible to reach the Pakhtun areas directly through Sikh territories. Therefore he had to choose a circuitous route through Gwalior, Tonk, Ajmer, Rajputana, Marwarr, Sind, Baluchistan, Qandahar, Ghazni and Kabul. In

Sindh he arrived Pir Kot on 24 June 1826, where he was warmly welcomed by Pir Sibghatullah Shah Rashdi. [36] In Shikarpur 20,000 people of the city and adjoining area offered prayer under the leadership of Syed Ahmad. Ruler of Shikarpur, Agha Mohammad Kazim Shah expressed his desire to join Syed Ahmad for *Jihad* but Syed advised him to stay and promised that he would be called whenever required. [37] It reflects extent of respect of Syed Ahmad among the people of that area. During his stay at Afghanistan, Syed Ahmad Shaheed tried to unite Amir Dost Mohammad Khan and his brother for the cause of Jihad, but he could not succeed in his efforts. Consequently he left the Kubul on 15 November 1926. He arrived Peshawar in the end of November 1826. [38]

People of the area realized that Syed Ahmad's aim was to make this area centre for their struggle of Dahwa and *Jihad* for the establishment of Islamic state, initially against Sikh rulers of Punjab and then against dominant power of British.[39] So he was received with warmth in Chamkani and Charsadda and large number of Muslims vowed to support him against Sikhs. After a short stay at Chamkani and Charsadda, he along with his followers left for Nowshera Kalan.

Before starting armed struggle against Sikhs, Syed Ahmad sent a message to Ranjit Singh to accept Islam but received no positive response from Ranjit Singh.[40] Syed Ahmad Shaheed's increasing strength alarmed the Sikh rulers of Lahore. Consequently they "dispatched well-armed force of 7000 men under the command of Budh Singh" [41] Syed Ahmad Shaheed decided to attack Sikh forces at night. He detailed the squad of 900 *Mujahideen* under the command of Allah Bakhsh Khan. [42] Muslim forces won the battle. In this battle 82 *Mujahideen* martyred and 30 to 40 were wounded, while 700 Sikh soldiers were killed and one thousand horses huge amount of war material had ceased to the *Mujahideen*.[43]

Achievements of *Mujahideen* impressed Muslim population of the area. Consequently large number of people started to join the squad of Syed Ahmad Shaheed. Various Sardars and Khans also swore allegiance to Syed Ahmad and announced their support for him. Fateh Khan Panjtari, Raees of Khadokhel and Ashraf Khan, Raees of Zaida were significant personalities among them. Khadi Khan, Raees of Hund was most prominent and influential person who vowed to support and obey Syed Ahmad. On the invitation of him Syed Ahmad decided to set up his headquarter at Hund which was considered a prominent centre of power at that time due to strong fortress and well-equipped force of chief of Hund. [44]

Consecutive achievements of Syed Ahmad Shaheed's forces made a deep impression on the minds of tribesmen and reinforced peoples' confidence in his leadership. Consequently he was elected as *Imam-ul-Mujahideen* in a large gathering on 11 January 1827. [45] On the occasion various Pathan notables, mystics, and common people pledged themselves to jihad under Sayyid Ahmad's leadership. [46] Within next two months, 80,000 people joined his squad. Realizing popularity and new status of Syed Ahmad Shaheed, Barakzai Sardars of

Peshawar Sardar Yar Muhammad Khan and Sultan Muhammad Khan sent him letter of goodwill acknowledging his leadership. “Wary of the Sayyid’s rising stock among Pathan tribesmen, the Durrani brothers calculated that joining the assemblage carried fewer dangers than outright opposition.” [47]

To avenge their defeats at Attock and Hazro, Sikhs started to gather their force with more than 35000 fully equipped soldiers at Shaidu. Syed Ahmad Shaheed also reorganized his forces to combat Sikhs. In the first week of March 1827, he proceeded from Hund to fight against Sikh forces, stationed at Shaidu under the leadership of Budh Singh. Barakzai sardars Yaar Mohammad Khan, the ruler of Peshawar, Sultan Mohammad Khan, ruler of Kohat and their third brother Pir Mohammad Khan also joined the squad with their 20,000 men thus enhancing the number of fighters under the leadership of Syed Ahmad to 100,000. Forces of Barakzai sardars were stationed at left bank of river Kabul. There were 33,000 Sikh soldiers under Budh Sing in the village of Shaidu and 20,000 reserve soldiers under Hari Singh waiting near Attock river. [48]

On the eve of the battle, Yaar Muhammad Khan made Syed Ahmad sick by poisoning him in the evening meal.[49] Despite severe illness and critical condition Syed Ahmad lead his squad in the battlefield. *Mujahideen*’s initial attack was very successful and they killed large number of Sikh soldiers. At the time when battle was in the final stage and *Mujahideen*’s success was certain, Sardar Yaar Muhammad Khan who was apparently supporting Syed Ahmad, withdrew his men from the battle. He shouted at once “defeat, defeat” and run away from the battleground. [50] Yaar Muhammad’s this trick changed the whole scenario. Soldiers lost their morale and started to retreat. In this situation of disarray only a few people who were sincere to their cause stayed to fight. One such person was Godhri Shahzada. The question arises why Yaar Muhammad Khan betrayed Syed Ahmad? Syed Abul Hassan Ali Nadvi thinks that Sardar Budh Singh had achieved the clandestine support of Yar Mohammad Khan before the battle of Shaidu and it had been decided that Yaar Mohammad Khan would run out of the battlefield along with his men. [51] About 6000 Mujahihideen embraced shahadat in this battle. Yaar Mohammad Khan’s betrayal was major reason of this heavy loss of lives. [52]

Syed Ahmad was seriously ill due to poisoning and required rest. He left for Swat and Buner. There he stayed at the Chinglai, Koga, Takhta Band, Barikot, Ouch and other places. During his stay in the area, “he visited and preached to the people in the surrounding areas of Buner and Swat, so as to reform them, and to persuade them to join his mission”. [53] During this visit according to Syed’s own estimate, about 400000 people pledged the oath of allegiance on his hand.[54]

He also wrote letters to the Muslim rulers to seek their support for *Jihad*. Prominent names of such rulers are:

1. Amir Dost Mohammad Khan Barakzai, Ruler of Kabul
2. Yar Mohammad Khan Ruler of Peshawar

3. Sultan Mohammad Khan Ruler of Kohat and Bannu
4. Said Mohammad Khan, Ruler of Hasht Nagar
5. Shah Mahmood Durrani, Ruler of Hirat
6. Nasrullah, Ruler of Bukhara
7. Sulaiman Shah, Ruler of Chitral
8. Painda Khan Taoli, Ruler Amb and Darband (now part of Hazara Division of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa)

He also wrote letters to influential Khans and Maliks of different tribes explaining to them that when Non-Muslims usurp the land of Muslims, it is obligatory for Muslims; especially leaders and rulers to engage in battle with infidels till their freedom is restored. If this is not done, then we would have sinned and thus will not have the blessings of Allah in anything that we do.[55] He also started to plan for liberation of the Muslims of Hazara from tyrannical rule of Sikhs.

After staying at different places in Swat and Buner, Syed Ahmad finally selected Panjtar at his permanent base and headquarter. Panjtar is a central place in Khadu Khel territory and is situated in the north-west corner of Mardan District. It is naturally secure and defensible place, being surrounded by mountains. Panjtar means a place covered from five sides, as this place is surrounded by five mountains.[56] On 6 February 1829, at a special meeting at Panjtar, tribal chiefs and ulema agreed on establishment of Islamic government under the leadership of Syed Ahmad. They took the oath of allegiance on the hands of Syed Ahmad, willingly accepting the enforcement of *sharia*. After another meeting of tribesmen on 20 February 1829, Sayyid Ahmad began appointing judges in different parts of the frontier. Maulvi Sayyid Muhammad Haban was selected as the chief judge *(qazi-ul-qaza).*[57]

Occupation of Peshawar

Syed Ahmed and his forces occupied Peshawar in 1830 but against the advice of many sincere fellows, he decided to forgive Sultan Mohammad Khan. In November, 1831, after nearly two months of occupation of Peshawar, Syed Ahmed withdrew from Peshawar in favour of Sultan Muhammad Khan on the conditions that he will remain obedient and implement Islamic law in the area. Consequently Moulvi Syed Mazhar Ali was appointed as Qazi of Peshawar. He, according to directions of Syed Ahmad, enforced commandments of *Shariat* in the city. Due to his measures, shops of wine and hashish and opium got closed.[58] But ultimately Syed Ahmad's decision to forgive Sultan Mohammad Khan and appoint him sardar of Peshawar again was proved wrong as Sultan Mohammad Khan later took revenge of his brother's death and not only killed Moulvi Syed Mazhar Ali but also conspired and encouraged the tribal chiefs to kill 150 aamils of Syed in one night.

Balakot Fight and Martyrdom of Syed Ahmed

Being greatly disappointed with the treachery and betrayal of the Khans of Peshawar, Syed Ahmad and his followers decided to leave the area and "concentrate their efforts against the Sikhs in Hazara and Kashmir".[59] So after relinquishing the Panjtar base, Syed Ahmad migrated to Hazara. He stationed at Balakot, a small town in Kaghan valley of Hazara, considering it safe for *Mujahideen*.

The *Mujahideen* were attacked by the Sikh army under the command of General Sher Singh. "Here too, the local Muslims spied for the Sikhs and led them through a secret route in close proximity to the *Mujahideen*'s camp."[60] A fierce battle was fought between the Sikhs and the Muslims. The *Mujahideen* fought bravely but could not stand the much stronger and superior forces. The *Mujahideen* were defeated in the battle in which Syed Ahmed Shaheed, Shah Ismail Shaheed and many other followers of Syed Sahib embraced martyrdom while fighting for the cause of Islam.

With the death of Syed Ahmed the Jihad movement could not be carried out with the old enthusiasm. Some of his disciples struggled to continue the movement and were successful to a certain extent. But the movement extremely lacked in organized leadership after Syed's death and, therefore could not be conducted for a long time.

Conclusion

Although Jihad Movement was a sincere effort for the restoration of Islamic glory in the Sub-Continent yet it could not achieve its immediate objectives due to various factors. Lack of funds, equipment and proper training of *Mujahideen* was a major factor. On the other hand Sikh Army was well equipped and large in number. On the other hand Sikh army possessed modern weapons, was well organized and had been given quality training by the British and the French officers. Ranjeet Singh acquired the military services of the experienced French General Jean Baptiste Ventura and General Fracois Allard in 1922. They imparted training upon the soldiers of Sikh Army. On the other hand *Mujahideen* lacked in training and modern weapons. While selecting this area for Jihad, Syed Ahmad Muslim expected cooperation of government of Afghanistan at his back. But his expectations remained unfulfilled.[61]

Selfishness and consequent deception of Pathan Chiefs especially betrayal of Sardar Yaar Mohammad Khan and Sultan Mohammad Khan also jeopardized the movement. They time and again played a double game with the *Mujahideen*. According to Dr. Jehanzeb Khalil "chieftains of the area were neither sincere to Syed Ahmad nor to Islam".[62] While analyzing the reasons of failure of the movement Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi observes that "the main reason was the narrow selfishness of the tribal chiefs. Many of them did not understand the full implications of the establishment of the non-Muslim rule in such proximity to their homeland." [63] For them Sikh's domination "seemed to be still some distance anyway whereas the Saiyid's domination was an immediate and palpable reality. So they supported Sikhs against Syed Ahmad. While analyzing the alliance between Sikhs and selfish Pathan sardars, K.J. Ahmad observes:[64]

> He (Ranjit Singh) sowed the dissentions among Pathan supporters of the Syed through bribery and intrigue. He made secret approaches to some of the influential tribal chiefs supporting the Syed, including Yar Muhammad, the Chief of Peshawar, asking them to withdraw their support on promise of concessions. He even warned them that the Syed's victory in the area would mean the domination of Indian Muslims over the Pathans. Thus a task which could not be achieved by Sikh arms, was accomplished through treachery of Muslims themselves.

Jealousy and rivalry among tribal chieftain of the area also played important role to undermine the movement.[65] There was lack of unity among local Khans and Maliks who never remained united on a single platform against the enemy. It was extremely difficult to keep such men together for any common cause. "There were so many feuds among them that if one sided with the Saiyid, the other decided to oppose him. There was so much jealousy even among those who supported the movement, that if one was commended in any way for some service, the other resented it.[66] Khadi Khan, Raees of Hund is prominent example of this fact. He initially supported Syed Ahmad, but due to jealousy against the Khan of Panjtar, he "considered the shifting of the *Mujahideen* base from Hund to Panjtar as a personal affront" and started to support Sikhs against *Mujahideen*.[67]

Local controversies on implementation of tax after the establishment of Islamic government undermined the movement. Pakhtuns were unused to organized Islamic government. For them Islam was merely a set of rituals.[68] In this perspective enforcement of Islamic law and consequent observance of Islamic commandments in economic and social spheres created resentment and alienation.[69] I. H. Qureshi observes that enforcement of Shariat laws was in conflict with their customary laws. People were "not used to the observance of any law beyond what was approved by tribal usage and custom".[70] Many people considered it their disrespect to marry their daughter without receiving handsome amount from the families of the bridegrooms. But this tradition served as an instrument of injustice for women. Many families of bridegroom were unable to pay the money after Nikah. So the girl could neither join her husband nor could marry another. Families of such girls were urged to "waive the demand for money and attempts were made to get older girls married without any financial gain to girl's family".[71] Those like Khadi Khan initially supported Sayyid Ahmad became hostile when the repercussion of the Islamic government adversely affected their exploitation of common people. A major reason of Khadi Khan's resentment was Syed Ahmad's action to help the residents of Manairi to overpower Khadi Khan's men, who had usurped their territory.[72] "Defections now came thick and fast. From the front Khadi Khan took the lead by striking a deal with the Sikhs."[73]

Most of *Mujahideen* were untrained to run an Islamic government. They did not prepare the mind of people. "*Mujahideen* were very few and it was difficult for them to establish effective control over an immense tract of territory".[74] Traditionally *ushr* (a tenth of the yield of the land) was collected by Ulema. It was major source of their subsistence. After the establishment of Islamic state under the leadership of Syed Ahmad Shaheed, his government started to collect the *ushr*. It created resentment among Ulema who had been deprived of their privilege.[75] They were, therefore, in the forefront to oppose the Mujahidin and some mullahs began preparing for an uprising.[76]

Although Jihad Movement of Syed Ahmad Shaheed remained unsuccessful to finish Sikh rule in Punjab but it affected the Muslims' frame of mind on a large scale. *Mujahideen* fought for the cause of Islam even without proper training and sufficient equipment. Their struggle kindled a flame of freedom and quest for Islamic state in the minds of Indian Muslims. Greatly inspired by the valiant struggle of *Mujahideen*, Pakhtuns continued the struggle for freedom against the British. *Mujahideen* Movement paved the way for the Muslim struggle for freedom. The spirit of freedom led to the war of independence in 1857. Sacrifices of Syed Ahmad Shaheed and his companions inspired the Muslims to think about the renaissance of Islam which ultimately led to the establishment of Pakistan.

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